May 1956

Fellowship

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. *Protester*

30¢

Hope in Mississippi

by Allan Knight Chalmers

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COVER PHOTO (Wide World)—Martin Luther King, Jr., speaking to the crowd after his home was bombed. With him are the sheriff and police officials. (See page 5)

FELLOWSHIP

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The WORLD in FOCUS

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Six Boys Dead

Five years ago *Life* Magazine devoted eight pages to a picture story called "How to Make Marines." In very nearly adulatory fashion, it related how a Marine Drill Instructor—in this case Sergeant William Steve Trope—worked with "a voice bristling with scorn and mockery, a vocabulary thundering with expletives and a merciless dedication to his job, which is to browbeat, discipline and fashion the miserable boots into proud Marines."

The "miserable boots" are 17- and 18-year old recruits at Parris Island, South Carolina, who are put through "maddening indignities" and "almost impossible physical exertions." Summing up his "successful methods," *Life* reported Trope as saying: "I give them every chance to crack up."

Many of them do. Of them, *Life* said nothing more than that they left. What else happened to them, what scars remained on their personalities, *Life* did not reveal. But the possibilities are suggested by the caption under a photograph of a recruit lying unconscious while his comrades march by:

"Collapsed boot lies by the side of the road as the platoon marches by with enforced indifference. To emphasize point that weaklings are not wanted, the platoon was marched by the inert form twice."

As this editorial is written, six flag-draped coffins in Beaufort, South Carolina, hold the bodies of six "boots" whose sergeant

went a little too far in emphasizing the point that weaklings are not wanted and that "commands must be followed without question." Five of the six "men" who drowned in a disciplinary march at the same Parris Island were 17 and 18 years old; the sixth was 20. One of them had written his mother a week before that "it is like living in hell down here."

Marine officers report themselves shocked and saddened by the incident, and determined to investigate it fully. The unfortunate sergeant seems slated to be the scapegoat, although his superiors acknowledge that he had the authority to order the march. He has been subjected to a psychiatric examination, and may be court-martialed.

It is not the individual sergeant who is at fault, however, but a system that, like all military systems, puts a premium on brutality and disregard for human personality. And the most tragic victims may well be not the six who died, but all the others who survive and do not crack up, but learn to be proud that they, too, have become "tough."

Border War

No more tragic scene exists in a world abounding in tragedy than the strife between Israel and the so-called Arab world. It is tragic not alone because of the suffering involved and the hovering imminence of war, but because to a considerable degree the contestants are powerless to resolve their conflict.

Israel and the Arab states alike are pawns of the power struggle; their freedom of action is limited by the considerations of oil and empire and military bases coveted by both sides in the overarching tensions between East and West. As in almost every other "hot spot" in the world, the Israeli-Arab dispute confirms the pacifist assertion that the time for patched-up solutions has passed. Nothing short of fundamental rearrangements of the values and systems by which men live will suffice to bring a measure of real peace.

What lends the aspect of unbearable tragedy to this particular area is the nature of the combatants. On one side of the border

re the hope and heroism of people trying to build a homeland mong memories still vivid of families who died in gas chambers nd concentration camps. On the other side are peasants who have ved in the depths of poverty for centuries, ridden by disease and xploited by imperialists, along with the thousands in refugee amps who lost their homes to the Israeli settlers.

It is wholesome that the United Nations seeks to intervene on ehalf of peace, but peace still depends on decisions that involve nuch more sacrifice than this.

wo Wrongs

The editor of the Montgomery (Alabama) *Advertiser,* Grover . Hall, Jr., has been upset by the publicity that has come to his ity as a result of the highly effective nonviolent resistance against us segregation being carried on by the Negro population.

Hall, as a good newspaperman, acknowledges the news value of he story, but he reportedly feels that the result is a one-sided icture. Accordingly, he has been needling Northern newspapers nto doing articles about discriminatory practices in their own ections, and publishes happily the comment of the mayor of)earborn, Michigan, that he is "for complete segregation, one nillion percent."

The message Hall is evidently trying to put across is that . . . where the Negro presents problems of numbers, he is re- ected, candidly in the South, pharisaically in the North."

For Northerners it is a salutary reminder. Discrimination *is* ad in the North; prejudice against groups and races is not sec- ional in its distribution. Repentance and change are needed in Jew York and San Francisco as they are needed in Montgomery nd Jackson, and there is no justification for self-righteousness nywhere.

But Hall still misses the mark, widely. For what he is trying to ay also is that two wrongs make a right, and that persecution f Negroes by whites in Alabama is all right because some other vhites are also persecuting Negroes in Detroit. What the Mont- omery editor needs to face is that sin is sin in Alabama as surely s in New York, and that no blacker sin can exist than the denial

of human dignity that is written into the whole fabric of his state.

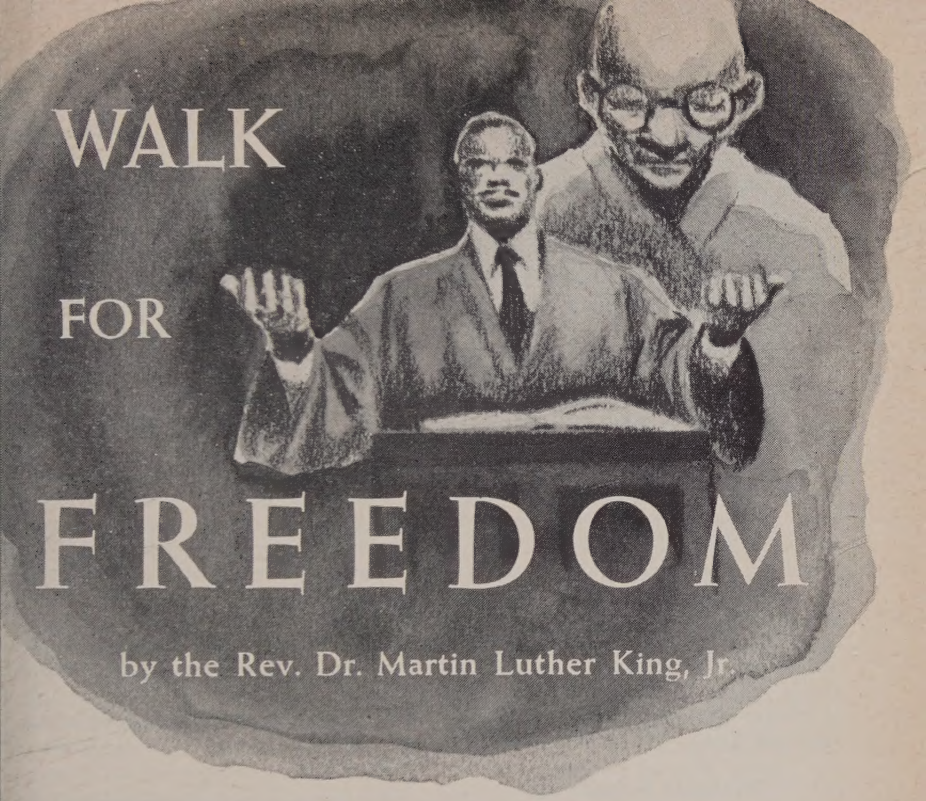
What distinguishes Montgomery is that fifty thousand of the persecuted have risen against their persecution, and that they have done so without violence or bitterness, but with understanding and love. No other section of the country has *that* story happening right now, and it is that which has turned the eyes and the prayers of men of good will everywhere to Mr. Hall's city.

No Time for Satire

There have been days in the past when this department would try its hand at satirizing one or another aspect of the current scene. The process becomes more difficult daily, and the satirist's lot, like Gilbert and Sullivan's policeman's, is not a happy one. Too many aspects of life carry their satire built-in, so to speak, and the professional's only cirticism of it can be that it is too broad, too unsubtle—in a word, too corny.

Satirists have dealt at length with the Communists, for example, but what satirist could do a believable job of projecting the current pedestal-toppling act the members of the Presidium are doing, with straight faces, on Stalin? The pen reels at the thought of trying to manufacture any comment more ironic than the facts on the spectacle of men who for years genuflected with enthusiasm before the self-styled epitome of all heroic virtues and who now as earnestly and single-mindedly labor at portraying the same man as the personification of everything bad!

Satire's purpose is to reveal to the reader the inconsistency and hypocrisy that might otherwise remain concealed from him. In an age when inconsistency is a virtue and hypocrisy a legitimate political technique, satire is left without a job.



WALK FOR FREEDOM

by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

THE PRESENT protest here in Montgomery on the part of the Negro citizens, grows out of many experiences—experiences that have often been humiliating and have led to deep resentment. The Negro citizens of Montgomery compose about 75% of the bus riders. In riding buses, they have confronted conditions which have made for a great deal of embarrassment, such as having to stand over empty seats, having to pay fares at the front door and going out to the back to get on, and then the very humiliating experience of being arrested for refusing to get up and give a seat to a person of another race.

These conditions and those experiences have now reached the point that the Negro citizens are tired, and this tiredness was expressed on December 5, when more than 99 percent of the Negro bus riders decided not to ride the buses, in a protest against these unjust conditions. This protest has lasted now for many, many weeks and it is still in process.

From the beginning, we have insisted on nonviolence. This is a protest — a *nonviolent* protest against injustice. We are depending on moral and spiritual forces. To put it another way, this is a movement of passive resistance, and the great instrument is the instrument of love. We feel that this is our chief weapon, and that

no matter how long we are involved in the protest, no matter how tragic the experiences are, no matter what sacrifices we have to make, we will not let anybody drag us so low as to hate them.

Love *must* be at the forefront of our movement if it is to be a successful movement. And when we speak of love, we speak of understanding, good will toward *all* men. We speak of a creative, a redemptive sort of love, so that as we look at the problem, we see that the real tension is not between the Negro citizens and the white citizens of Montgomery, but it is a conflict between justice and injustice, between the forces of light and the forces of darkness, and if there is a victory—and there *will* be a victory—the victory will not be merely for the Negro citizens and a defeat for the white citizens, but it will be a victory for justice and a defeat of injustice. It will be a victory for goodness in its long struggle with the forces of evil.

Violence Is Immoral

This is a spiritual movement, and we intend to keep these things in the forefront. We know that violence will defeat our purpose. We know that in our struggle in America and in our specific struggle here in Montgomery, violence will not only be impractical but immoral. We are outnumbered; we do not have access to the instruments of violence. Even more than that, not only is violence impractical, but it is *immoral;* for it is my firm conviction that to seek to retaliate with violence does nothing but intensify the existence of evil and hate in the universe.

Along the way of life, someone must have *sense* enough and morality enough to cut off the chain of hate and evil. The greatest way to do that is through love. I believe firmly that love is a transforming power that can lift a whole community to new horizons of fair play, good will and justice.

Love vs. Bombs

Love is our great instrument and our great weapon, and that alone. On January 30 my home was bombed. My wife and baby were there; I was attending a meeting. I first heard of the bombing at the meeting, when someone came to me and mentioned it, and I tried to accept it in a very calm manner. I first inquired about my wife and daughter; then after I found out

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

A few short months ago, **Martin Luther King, Jr.** was known to few people outside Montgomery, Alabama, where he is pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. Son and grandson of ministers, King was born on January 15, 1929 in Atlanta. He has lived all his life in the South, except for a brief period of study at Boston University, where he received his Ph.D.

Walk for Freedom is the result of a trip to Montgomery by FOR National Field Secretary **Glenn E. Smiley,** during the height of the bus boycott which King is leading. In a situation which Smiley describes as "revolutionary," the quite-spoken, nattily dressed young Negro minister has revealed himself as a pillar of nonviolent strength, carved on the Gandhian model. Indeed, King's steadfast adherence to the gospel of love has given his name nationwide significance as a symbol of hope and a model of conduct for millions.

Fellowship is honored to be able here to print Dr. King's story in his own words.

that they were all right, I stopped in the midst of the meeting and spoke to the group, and urged them not to be panicky and not to do anything about it because that was not the way.

I immediately came home and, on entering the front of the house, I noticed there were some 500-1000 persons. I came in the house and looked it over and went back to see my wife and to see if the baby was all right, but as I stood in the back of the house, hundreds and hundreds of people were still gathering, and I saw there that violence was a possibility.

It was at that time that I went to the porch [see cover photo] and tried to say to the people that we could not allow ourselves to be panicky. We could not allow ourselves to retalitate with any type of violence, but that we were still to confront the problem with *love*.

One statement that I made—and I believe it very firmly—was: "He who lives by the sword will perish by the sword." I urged the people to continue to manifest love, and to continue to carry on the struggle with the same dignity and with the same discipline that we had started out with. I think at that time the people did decide to go home, things did get quiet, and it ended up with a great deal of calmness and a great deal of discipline, which I think our community should be proud of and which I was very proud to see because our people were determined not to retaliate with violence.

"Stand Up to the Finish"

Some twenty-six of the ministers and almost one hundred of the citizens of the city were indicted in this boycott. But we realized in the beginning that we would confront experiences that make for great sacrifices, experiences that are not altogether pleasant. We decided among ourselves that we would stand up to the finish, and that is what we are determined to do. In the midst of the indictments, we still hold to this nonviolent attitude, and this primacy of love.

Pray for Justice

Even though convicted, we will not retaliate with hate, but will still stand with love in our hearts, and stand resisting injustice, with the same determination with which we started out. We need a great deal of encouragement in this movement. Of course one thing that we are depending on, from not only other communities but from our own community, is prayer. We ask people everywhere to pray that God will guide us, pray that justice will be done and that righteousness will stand. And I think through these prayers we will be strengthened; it will make us feel the unity of the nation and the presence of Almighty God. For as we said all along, this is a spiritual movement.

HOPE IN MISSISSIPPI

BY ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS

ALWAYS in any bad situation you will find good people who are on the edge of doing necessary things, even if dangerous, to correct injustice. I, who dislike the use of easy generalizations because they are nearly always wrong, find myself driven to believe that good people are available in every bad situation. They may have to be found, but they are there.

I am just back from ten days in the Delta area of Mississippi. Ten days is not long enough to know all the answers, to say nothing of even knowing the questions; but a lifetime of "troubleshooting" all over this country makes the smelling-out of evil in any particular place a matter of routine. The Delta smells bad.

The discovery that Emmett Till's father died not a war hero but an Occupation Army criminal does not make the crime of killing that fourteen-year-old boy in Mississippi any sweeter. And whatever excuses one may find in a wolf-whistle for that atrocity, the fatal shooting of Reverend George Lee, of Lamar Smith, and the wounding of Gus Courts, because these three acted on their belief that a man in America has a right to qualify to vote without his skin color being used as a gun target to prevent him, is not to be rationalized away by people saying: "This is our internal problem and we will handle it in our own way. Do not interfere with our established culture." If all this were not bad enough, while I was in the danger area, in which obviously white men were armed and less obviously black men were armed also, some thirty miles away the most recent "incident," as one newspaper called it, occurred:

Reprinted from the *Interracial Review*.

Clinton Melton, Negro, age 20, was shot down in broad daylight by a white customer in a gas station.

Racial Powder Keg

Mississippi is sitting on the lid of a powder keg—literally as well as figuratively. I saw it with my own eyes. I talked with white men in the daytime, with Negroes late at night. I predict that Mississippi will have a violent race riot soon.

I have been in riot areas before —Detroit in the '40s; New York's Harlem, near which I lived for many years; the center of a mob in Alabama. I know by experience the feel of mob violence. Mississippi was close to explosion just before Christmas. I therefore breathed a bit easier when shortly before Christmas the Attorney General, who was also Governor-Elect, moved at last. In a banner-headline, front-page meeting, with 77 of 82 county sheriffs present in an emergency meeting, he took the situation very seriously. The Delta area was—maybe still is—close to a riot situation, but it is probable that the state has edged away from that hanging cornice of an avalanche of violence.

But I also found that the good people were there. They were there in Alabama when a group of leaders throughout the State stuck with a messed-up case of injustice until the last boy was out. They were there in Texas when a community stirred itself to make a wrong to a nineteen-year-old boy right. They were there in Florida when another notorious case started its sure road to solution. "Our Precious Rights are Safer" is the title of the lead editorial, written in December, in one of the great papers of the state. The editorial went on to say this about the Walter Irvin case:

> In spite of the emotions which first surrounded the trials of this Negro citizen, Florida has emerged as a shining example for other mature Southern States to follow in upholding justice, law and order.

Then, having spoken of the part that the press took, the editorial added:

> But it is not the press alone that can take pride and comfort in this Bill of Rights birthday celebration.
>
> Men of the Church followed through and made the innumerable calls, smiled in the face of discouragement from their timid brethren, and raised money from some of the braver souls. They were the missionaries of democratic justice. They realized that their own individual articles of faith are jeopardized when rights of a single citizen are overrun.

The few were there in Mississippi. In each of eleven cities throughout the State no fewer than three leaders have not only become aware of each other but are now connected with the other ten cities. That nucleus will attract other forces.

The cultural areas from which the solution for Mississippi will emerge out of the state itself are: business, church women, college leaders, editors, clergy. (The Catholic Church has not yet moved in

About the Author

Allan Knight Chalmers, professor of Applied Christianity at Boston University School of Theology, is national treasurer of the NAACP. A leading FOR member, Dr. Chalmers has long been a champion of civil rights and an authority on race relations.

calmly as they did in Louisiana, and the Protestant Church is still only a silent potential; but they are there.) Lawyers were hard to find and politicians were not sure at first. Both these areas, however, have their intelligent leadership, who know that the ways of the Citizens Councils are not the path of truth.

The Citizens Councils are not as strong as they talk. Much of their strength is paper, comprising names listed by coercion. Up to this time Mississippi has not given herself any place for men of intelligent good will to rally—except around the hard core of a determined minority trying to convince themselves and others that the world stands still.

The First Gospel

No one will be happier than I if my prediction about a Mississippi race riot being close proves never to be a reportable fact. But the good people of Mississippi, who face (often with reluctance but at least with honesty) the fact that religion and democracy are on the side of brotherhood for all people, can take comfort in the testimony of the ages which Carlyle expressed in his analysis of the French Revolution. Pointing out that intelligent understanding could have prevented that cataclysm if the State had lived within its Constitution and the Church had had more than "the memory of a creed," the dour Scotch writer who has a reputation for being a pessimist added: . . ."But the first of all Gospels is this, that a lie cannot endure forever."

Nothing in this report should allow anyone not to be alarmed at the strength of forces in Mississippi, organized, armed and ready to kill to do their will. Nevertheless people outside the State must have restraint in speaking, and sympathy, in viewing the problem of their counterparts within the State. We can take comfort in the assurance that the good people are there —are becoming articulated, in organization, will be articulated in more than muttering in days ahead. Mississippi is aware that it is mired deep in a problem, but it has people determined to find the way to solve it rightly. There is hope in Mississippi.

Segregation vs. Civilization

The most tragic proposal ever made in a presumably intelligent land is that the South solve the great public problem of desegregation by putting an end to public education indeed, to all education so far as the overwhelming majority of the people are concerned. . . .

The anger of those who propose such drastic remedies . . . should be understood, too, as something beyond secession from the Union. What they urge is secession from civilization. . . .

No land indeed has ever been so clearly warned by its own past as to the fatal futility of flight from intellectualism as the American South. . . . It is not doubtful, but a certainty, that the South which would determine to shut the doors of its schools would be ready also to close all the avenues of expression and enlightenment.

—Jonathan W. Daniels,
Editor, the Raleigh (N. C.) **News and Observer**

na-tio-NaL notes

by Kurt Tucholsky

Translated by Harry Zohn

THE NATIONS were invited to draw a circle.

The American appeared with a circle-drawing machine, the biggest in the world; the Englishman drew an almost perfect circle free-hand; the Frenchman made a richly adorned oval; the Austrian said: "G'wan, we're not gonna bother" and reproduced the Englishman's circle; the Germans came up with a figure of 1096 sides which looked like a circle but wasn't one.

Once the nations organized a competition as to who could see the farthest.

The Frenchman saw as far as the next Arrondissement. The Englishman surveyed the whole world; it reflected him. The Berliner looked from the Kurfürstendamm past the Spree as far as the Alexanderplatz and thought that in between there lay America and the Atlantic Ocean. The Viennese didn't even bother to look; he was reading about a wonderful libel suit in his newspaper.

A Norwegian in Copenhagen was shown the squat, round tower inside which one can go up in a horse-drawn carriage on a spiral ramp. "Do you have anything like this in Norway?" he was asked. "No," said the man from Oslo, piqued. "But if we did have such a tower, it would be bigger and rounder."

In Spain they once founded an Animals Protective League. To raise the necessary funds, they arranged a big benefit bull fight.

The German thinks it up; the Italian invents it; the Englishman puts it into practice; the American buys the rights to it; the Japanese imitates it; the Spaniard won't hear of it; the Norwegian gradually gets wind of it; and the Frenchman appoints all concerned to the Académie Réaumur. Whereupon the astonished German compiles a bibliography of the whole thing.

Because of inclement weather, the German revolution took place in music.

This continent is proud of itself and has a right to be. What they are proud of in Europe:

Of being a German. Of being a Frenchman. Of being an Englishman. Of not being a German. Of not being a Frenchman. Of not being an Englishman.

When the Lord had caused the trumpet of the Last Judgment to sound, the Germans stood at attention, with an especially nasty fellow out in front; the Englishmen came marching along in order punctually and nonchalantly, propelling their heads in front of them with golf clubs; from the Frenchmen's corner one could hear gay hammering (they were making little holes in their third ribs in which to put away their ribbons); the Swiss grumbled that they had never been roused from sleep before; the Spaniards just lay there, mumbling "Mañana, Mañana;" and the American sector of the cemetery had an illuminated sign reading:

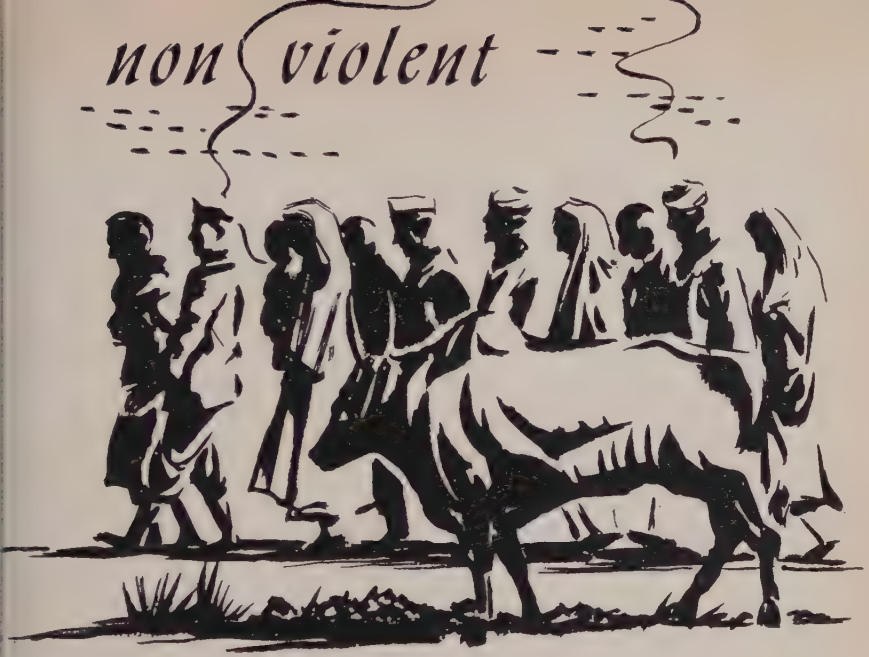
Last Judgment Today!
Positively the Very Last in the World!
As Predicted by Pastor Higgins of the Chicago Sunday School!
Pastor Higgins and the Good Lord Present in Person!

But when God looked upon all this, he took pity on the monkey cage and postponed the session indefinitely.

KURT TUCHOLSKY

Little-known outside Europe, **Kurt Tucholsky** is regarded by many as Germany's greatest satirist since Heinrich Heine. Born in Berlin in 1890, Tucholsky endured three and a half years on the Western Front during World War I, emerging an ardent pacifist. In the heyday of the Weimar Republic, he earned the nickname of "Germany's conscience." A fecund writer of aphorisms, monologs, poetry and short essays, the Jewish journalist "with the golden heart and the iron jaw" was a leading writer for the satirical weekly, **Die Weltbühne**, and was known to German readers by several pseudonyms—Peter Panter, Theobald Tiger and others.

A radical socialist and bitter adversary of both nationalism and militarism, Tucholsky took refuge in Sweden when Hitler came to power. Present-day readers are frequently shocked to learn that he committed suicide there in 1935, for he is once again a best-seller in his native land, and his trenchant wit seems as up-to-date as tomorrow's newspaper.



army for PEACE

by Kaka Seheb Kalekar

Nonviolent Army for Peace is based on a key speech given by the author at the second Triennial National Convention of the India Fellowship of Reconciliation, May 5-7, 1955.

IN MY CHILDHOOD I learned shooting because I believed it could be made use of in the struggle for freedom of our country. I practiced shooting with a muzzle-loader gun which I managed to get.

Some years later, I made my first visit to Gandhi at Shantiniketan. For eight days, I interviewed him day and night and studied his views on religion, politics, literature—everything. I told him I was not prepared to accept nonviolence. I was not certain whether nonviolence would bring liberty to our country. Could he promise liberty by his nonviolent methods? As an answer, Gandhi asked me to stay with him in the *ashram* and study. If life there interested me, I could stay with him. After that, I went to see him often, listened to him, and studied his views in detail. I learned that nonviolence is the law of life. Gradually I was converted.

I am a Hindu and will never give up Hinduism. Yet I regard myself as a Christian—although I will not go to a missionary and ask him to accept me as such. I regard myself as a Christian, not because I listen to the Christian missionaries, but

because I have read the life and teaching of Jesus. I was influenced by his life, his teachings, his martyrdom.

Because I am a citizen of India, I should perhaps be prepared to lay down my life for the defense of my country. But should I prepare to kill somebody? You say "love at any cost"—how can you then kill? If you believe in absolute love you must find out some way by which you can defend your country without killing others. Absolute love means that the whole of humanity is one family. Can I kill my brother if he goes wrong and attacks me? Or even if he is mad? How can I stab my brother? If you regard the whole world as one family you cannot fight and kill. I believe it is possible to organize ourselves to prepare to defend the defenseless.

Defense Through Love

The question before us is whether we should have military training in schools. Training for violence and training for nonviolence are going together in India. Psychologically you cannot organize people for nonviolence unless you have a change of life. If you want to fight a nation you must hate that nation. Only then can you fight against it and succeed. A heart must be hardened to be successful in war. If, on the other hand, you love the people against whom you fight, you will be unsuccessful. So also we have to train our hearts. It is possible to risk our lives without hatred. When there is a fire you rush to extinguish it without hatred in your heart.

On the day I was baptized into nonviolence, Gandhi was going to the Punjab. He was arrested and sent back to Bombay. People in Ahamadabad started to riot. I saw the military on one side and the people on the other. I asked the police to allow me to pacify the people. Bullets were fired. I asked my heart: "Are you afraid?" The reply, strangely, was: "No." In the presence of bullets and mad people I could move about without hatred or fear.

I would like governments to have nonviolent as well as violent wings in the army. Those who are prepared to be truly Christian will organize the nonviolent army. That way, we can show the government that it is possible to organize people for nonviolent resistance. If the soldier knows personally whom he has to fight, it will be difficult for him to do his duty. For in nonviolence you must know the people and they should know you.

The power of nonviolence, of love, of non-hatred is great. What happened in the case of Jesus? His death proved more powerful than his life. So also with Gandhi. If death can be made so profitable, why should a man fear death? A man invests his life in death and when he dies he becomes more powerful. That is a profitable bargain.

The Instinct of Nonviolence

While training for nonviolent resistance, we have to rethink the whole problem of life. A very apt simile might be given here. While in water you must be able to hold yourself horizontal. Otherwise you will sink. In cycling you forget your instincts and learn the instinct of the bicycle. In this same way you can study the instinct of nonviolence, which is inherent in man. If you think with all your

heart that the world is one family, you will never kill your brother.

In the military the uniform is respected. A soldier feels himself strong when a number of people dressed in uniforms are around him. But in the nonviolent struggle he does not even mind being alone. All that is necessary is a good heart. Size or external force are of no matter.

When we started to organize Shanti Sena, our peace army, at Wardha, we used a blue button on the Gandhi cap and a piece of blue scarf made of *khadi,* a hand-woven fabric. Khadi has a value all its own. For example, poor people on the road who are seeking help, often look around, hoping to find a person in blue khadi, because they feel that the man in khadi is a champion of the poor.

What is the condition of India today? Our resources are few. We have no big army. Yet we are respected by the rest of the world because of our nonviolent approach. The world is gradually learning to understand such ideals. And for them we have to train not only our young men and women but also the older people. It is not something to be argued endlessly. Let us make a beginning.

Now Is the Time

The government can then decide whether we should have military training of the nonviolent type in our schools. No citizen can escape the duty of defending his state. If the nonviolent method of defense is found worthy, the government will, I think, consider it.

Those who believe in love and sacrifice, those who believe in God, and those who believe in the family of man, I think, should try and make a start toward this way. This is a time when we have in India a government which substantially believes in nonviolence and a society which is prepared to give us a chance.

How to "Kill" an Enemy

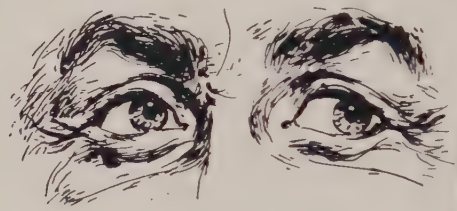
We must saturate ourselves with the spirit of our Master if our fighting is to further his Kingdom. Hate breeds hate; force challenges force. Only love disarms; only forgiveness kills an enemy and leaves a friend.

[Jesus] offered it as a mark of his Kingdom that his followers used no force to defend him. Wherever they have done so, the Kingdom of heaven has dropped to the level of the brutal empires. His attack is by the truth; whoever is won by that, is conquered for good. Force merely changes the form of evil. When we "overcome evil with good," we eliminate it.

—Walter Rauschenbusch
in The Social Principles of Jesus.

Studies of the Harvard Research Center in Creative Altruism—

THE SCIENTIFIC SEARCH for Love



—PART TWO

by Pitirim A. Sorokin

HAVING VALIDATED, to a tangible extent, our starting assumption of the first phase of our studies, we proceeded to the second phase of our research.

In this stage we have concentrated on the investigation of the effective techniques and factors of altruistic formation and transformation. We have analyzed and, when possible, tested experimentally the efficacy of various methods of altruistic education of human beings and groups, beginning with the ancient techniques of Yoga, Buddhism, Zen Buddhism, Sufism, and somatophysical techniques of Orthodox Christianity,* the techniques invented by the founders of great religions and monastic orders, Oriental and Occidental;† the techniques of such eminent secular educators as Comenius, Pestalozzi, Montessori, Froebel, and others; and ending with the techniques known to contemporary education, psychology, psychiatry, sociology; religious, moral, and civic training; and the techniques used in such contemporary Christian altruistic communities as the Society of Brothers in Paraguay, and the Mennonite, Hutterite, and Quaker communities in the United States.**

* The studies of R. Godel, J. H. Masui, A. Migot, P. Masson-Oursel, M. Eliade, G. E. Monod-Herzen, A. Bloom, E. Dermenghem, R. Kita, K. Nagaya, H. Benoit, P. Marinier, published in the symposium: *Forms and Techniques of Altruistic and Spiritual Growth*, 1954.

† The techniques of St. Basil the Great, St. Benedict, St. Francis of Assisi, St. Bernard, St. John Climacus, John Cassian, St. Francois de Sales, Ignatius Loyola, and others published in my volume, *The Ways and Power of Love.*

** (Cf. the studies of E. C. H. Arnold, C. Krahn, J. W. Fretz, R. Kleider in the symposium: *Forms and Techniques* and my studies in *The Ways and Power of Love*).

A careful analysis of the ancient techniques of Yoga, Buddhism, and the monastic orders has been made because of the unexcelled, possibly even unrivaled ingenuity, subtlety, and efficacy of these techniques. The known and unknown inventors of these techniques perhaps knew more than we know at the present time about effective methods for the moral transformation of man. They certainly have been successful moral educators of humanity.

Do They Work?

As indicated, we did not limit our study of these techniques to a mere theoretical analysis, but wherever possible have tried to test them empirically and experimentally. Do these techniques work? Are they effective? And, if so, in what social and cultural conditions? The following examples give an idea of this experimental testing.

One of the steps in Raja-Yoga techniques is *pranayama,* or training in voluntary control of respiration. It is paralleled by training in voluntary "suspension" of heart activity. The real Yogi can voluntarily "suspend" or reduce to an almost intangible degree his heart and breathing activities for hours, days, and weeks. Eminent specialists, cooperating with the Center, tested in the light of modern science the authenticity, the mechanism, and the therapeutic consequences of the voluntary regulation of respiration. Other eminent cardiologists of the Center made objective, instrumental — cardiographic, encephalographic, girographic, etc.—investigations on the suspension of heart activity by the Yogi, as well as instrumental recordings of all the important changes in the functions of all the important organs of the human organism that occur when a person concentrates and deconcentrates his thought, when he experiences hate and love; when the Yogi reaches the state of *samadhi;* and so on.*

Further on, for testing the efficacy of the "techniques of good deeds," we took five pairs of students. The partners of each pair hated each other. We set for ourselves the task of changing (within a period of three months) these hateful relationships into amicable ones by the technique of "good deeds." We convinced one partner of each pair to try to render friendly actions (invitations to lunch, to movies, to dances, etc.) to his disliked partner. Then we observed what changes, if any, the repeated good deeds produced in both partners. To make a long story short, we changed four pairs into friends and one into indifferent partners. A similar experimental transformation of inimical into amicable relationship between the nurses and patients of Boston Psychopathic Hospital was made by the method of good deeds, and had similar success.†

These examples give a notion of our experimental testing of the various techniques studied. Similar analysis and testing have been done** in various techniques for re-

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* (Cf. studies of W. Bischler, F. P. Jones, Therese Brosse, J. S. Bockoven and M. Greenblatt, in the symposium: *Forms and Techniques*).

† (Cf. studies of J. M. Thompson, R. W. Hyde, H. M. Kandler in the symposium: *Forms and Techniques*).

** (Cf. studies by G. W. Allport, P. Sorokin, J. L. Moreno, W. A. Lunden, B. Davis, A. Miller in the symposium: *Forms and Techniques*).

ducing group prejudice, in group therapy techniques for altruization of "hardened prisoners" in the Iowa penitentiary and for making friends among students at Harvard and Radcliffe, and in the psychodramatic production techniques. F. S. C. Northrop and M. Engelson have investigated the kind of international law and the New Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen necessary for the realization of altruistic values in mankind.

In all, some thirty different techniques for the altruistic transformation of persons and groups have been analyzed, and several of these have been experimentally tested.

In trying to unravel the mystery of the how and why of altruistic transformation, we have also made a detailed analysis of the process of altruization in the lives of the great apostles of unselfish love—Buddha, Jesus, St. Francis of Assisi, Mahatma Gandhi, and many others. Since they succeeded in becoming the living incarnation of love, they evidently had solved the problem successfully. How did they solve it? What techniques, what factors, and what socio-cultural conditions were involved? These "case studies" formed a large slice of our research. Here again we have tried to be as empirical, experimental, and scientific as possible. These detailed case studies yielded several results.

Three Types of Altruists

For one thing, *three types of altruists* were discerned. First of these are the "fortunate" altruists who, from their early childhood, display a well-integrated set of "egos," values, and social affiliations centered around the values of love and supreme "self," and who, like grass, quietly and gracefully grow in their altruistic creativity without any catastrophe or sharp conversion. Albert Schweitzer, John Woolman, Benjamin Franklin, Dr. T. Haas, and many others exemplify this type.

The second group were the "catastrophic" and "late" altruists whose life is sharply divided into two periods: pre-altruistic, preceding their transformation, and altruistic, following the total transformation of their personality, prepared by a disintegration of their "egos," "values," and "group affiliations," and precipitated by catastrophic events (sickness, death of their beloved, etc.), and other occurrences in their lives.

The process of transformation of such persons is ordinarily difficult and painful, and it lasts from a few months to several years. During this tortuous period the respective persons have to perform the difficult operation of a basic rearrangement of their "egos," "values," and "group affiliations." When this operation is completed, a new altruistic personality emerges and grows up to the end of its life. Gautama Buddha, St. Francis of Assisi, Brother Joseph, Ignatius Loyola, St. Augustine, St. Paul, Simone Weil, and others exemplify this type.

Finally came the "intermediary" type, marked by some of the traits of the fortunate and the late-catastrophic types. St. Theodosius, St. Basil the Great. Mahatma Gandhi, St. Theresa, Sri Ramakrishna, and others, give examples of this type.

Next, these investigations led to confirmation of the *law of polarization* previously formulated in my book, *Man and Society in Calamity* (1941). This law contrasts with the

Freudian claim that calamity and frustration uniformly generate aggression; and with the old notion recently reiterated by Toynbee, that "we learn by suffering" and that frustration and catastrophes lead uniformly to the moral and spiritual ennoblement of human beings. The law of polarization states that, depending upon the type of personality, frustrations and misfortunes (*e.g.*, Beethoven's deafness, Milton's blindness, etc.) are reacted to and overcome on the one hand by an increased creative effort or by altruistic transformation (St. Francis of Assisi, Ignatius Loyola, *et al.*), either of which constitutes positive polarization or, on the other hand, by suicide, mental disorder, brutalization, increase of selfishness, dumb submissiveness, and cynical sensualism, these reactions constituting negative polarization.

Responses to Catastrophe

The same polarization occurs on a mass scale when catastrophes and frustrations fall upon a large collectivity. Some of its members become more aggressive, brutal, sensual, mentally and morally disintegrated, while the other part of the collectivity becomes more religious, moral, altruistic, saintly, as shown also by our "catastrophic altruists." This law explains also why periods of catastrophe are marked on the one hand by disintegration of the value-system of a given society, and on the other by a creative reintegration of a new value-system, especially of religious and ethical values. As a rule, all great religious and moral systems have emerged, and then have been ennobled, mainly in catastrophic periods of a respective society, be it ancient Egypt, China, India, Israel, the Graeco-Roman or the Western nations. A vast body of other empirical evidence supports the validity of the law of polarization roughly outlined here.*

The third result of these studies has been a revision of the prevalent theories of personality structure and personality integration. Investigation of the tasks undertaken made the prevalent theories entirely untenable.

"Depth" Psychology: Shallow

The first blunder of these theories is found in their merging into the category of the "unconscious" or "subconscious"† two radically different "energies" of man: the *biologically unconscious* that lies below the level of the conscious state of mind and the *supraconscious,*** that lies above the level of the conscious or rational thought or "energy." The "depth psychology" of the prevalent theories is in fact quite shallow. These theories either flatten the mental structure almost exclusively to the level of the unconscious or subconscious *id*, with a sort of epiphenomenal, vague, and ineffective "ego" and "superego" (Freud) or else they depict it as a "two-story building"—the unconscious (subconscious) and the conscious (rational).

Instead of these utterly inadequate theories we have been forced by logical and factual reasons to construct a four-fold framework of personality-structure: 1) the

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* For a more precise analysis, see *The Ways and Power of Love.*

† (Cf. works of E. von Hartmann, P. Janet, S. Freud, and others.

** *e.g.*, "genius," "creative élan," the "*nous*" of the Greeks, the "*pneuma*" of the Church Fathers, etc.

biologically unconscious (subconscious); 2) the biologically conscious; 3) the socio-culturally conscious; and 4) the supraconscious.

More Than One Ego

The unconscious and the supraconscious mental levels are devoid of any consciousness of ego, while the socio-culturally conscious level has as many different egos as there are groups with which the individual is associated—(the ego of his family, the ego of his occupational group, and the various egos of his political party, religious group, nationality, state, economic group, and other organizations in which he holds a membership).

If the groups with which the individual is affiliated are in harmonious relationship with one another and "dictate" to him similar ideas, beliefs, tastes, values, and imperatives of conduct, all the egos and values of the individual will also be in harmony with each other, merging together into one integrated ego and one main system of values. As a result, such an individual will have peace of mind, strong convictions, unclouded conscience, and a consistent conduct.

If the groups of the individual's affiliation are mutually contradictory in their values and in their demands from the individual, his egos and values representing these groups will also be at war with one another; the individual will become a house divided against itself, devoid of peace of mind and of consistency of thought and conduct, suffering from incessant inner conflicts, dissatisfied and psychoneurotic. Indeed a large part of the neuroses are due to these inner tensions and wars of the egos—the results of an unfortunate affiliation of the individual with mutually contradictory groups.

This last hypothesis has been tested in various ways by us and by other psychiatrists, and is becoming increasingly accepted. This pluralistic theory of "egos" as a microcosm reflecting the macrocosm of group-affiliations of a person explains why the fortunate altruists, placed since early childhood amidst harmonious and altruistic group-affiliations (beginning with a good family), have a harmonious set of egos, values, and actions, and therefore in their altruistic growth do not need to pass through painful crises accompanying rearrangement of their ego, values, and group-affiliations. It also explains why catastrophic altruists who happened to be affiliated with mutually discordant groups and have, therefore, a set of discordant egos, values, and actions have to pass through the painful process of their disintegration and reintegration, if they do not commit suicide, or become mentally ill, or regress to the state of a brutal, or passive, or decadently sensual human animal.

The Supraconscious

Finally, as to the supraconscious in man, we collected and analyzed a considerable body of empirical evidence showing its reality, its creative functioning in men of genius, and some of its characteristics. Though this evidence is still meager, it is about sufficient to establish the reality of this highest form of man's creative energy. It seems to be the main source (working in cooperation with a rational thought) of all the greatest creative achievements in all fields of culture, from science and the fine arts

up to religion and ethics. It is also a necessary condition to becoming a genius of altruistic love.

Among other tests of this hypothesis of the supraconscious, T. Brosse carried on its experimental-instrumental verification (cardiographic, encephalographic, girographic, etc.). Her pioneer study* instrumentally confirmed the tangible effects of the supraconscious upon the activities of heart, lungs, and other organs of some 213 persons experimented with.

Fourth, in studying the types of altruistic rearrangement of group-affiliations and of respective egos, values, and actions, we investigated in some detail the typical solutions of this difficult task: a) the self-isolationist, eremitic solution in which an altruist cuts off all his previous group-affiliations, isolates himself in a desert or uninhabited region and, face-to-face with himself (like St. Anthony, St. Jerome, or other "Desert Hermits"), painfully labors over a new reintegration of his personality; b) the solution of the unattached pilgrim or seeker of goodness, going from place to place as a wayfarer (like Buddha, Jesus, and others who cut off almost all their previous affiliations and until the "enlightenment" wandered around as pilgrims either alone or in the company of their disciples and co-seekers); c) the solution through establishment of their own group and institution (monastery, cloister, special school, etc.) dedicated to spiritual and altruistic training; d) the solution through living in the ordinary "sinful" world but avoiding membership in all extremely selfish groups and affiliating only with the mutually harmonious altruistic collectivities and their values.

Real Conversion Is Hard

All in all, the process of a real altruistic transformation for persons who were not altruistic in their early life (the catastrophic and late altruists) is a very difficult and painful operation that usually takes a fairly long time and hardly ever happens momentarily. This explains why almost all momentary religious or moral "conversions" are superficial, and why today's "religious revival," so widely advertised in the United States and elsewhere, is a mere surface ripple that hardly changes the deeper currents of social life and moral conditions of nations and mankind.

Further on, in our studies we have also dealt with such problems as the ways and means for extending love and friendly treatment of man by man far beyond personal and tribal "in-groups," to cover all of mankind. Such an extension appears to be an indispensable condition for lasting peace and harmony in the human universe. The last part of *The Ways and Power of Love*, "From Tribal Egoism to Universal Altruism," outlines a concrete and practical plan for the realization of this task. Among other things, the plan shows in a practical way how even such forces as hatred, competition, the struggle for superiority, unconditioned and conditioned reflexes, and habit-forming mechanisms can be utilized for bringing mankind nearer to the state of universal solidarity and altruism.

The above gives an idea of the

* (Published in the symposium. The theory of the personality-structure and of the supraconscious is published in *The Ways and Power of Love*).

character of the studies of our Research Center. In the near future we plan to concentrate on a further investigation, mainly experimental, of the strategic, specified problems of this vast field, and on substantial research into the central sociological problems involved.

At the present time the Center is starting the organization of an International Association for the Study and Application of Altruism (IASAA). This organization is to be quite independent of our Research Center, and will have its own board of directors, its own membership, and its own bulletin or journal devoted to publication of its studies and activities. Anyone who is vitally interested in the study, propagation, or application of creative and unselfish altruism, solidarity, and cooperation, can become a member of this Association.

At this stage our Center is just helping its birth and organization. As soon as its founding members have their first organizational convention, formulate its constitution, and elect its Committee or Board, the Association will be incorporated as an independent organization. Anyone who is willing to become a founding member is welcome to write to the Center, and will be registered as such. A number of eminent leaders in social, cultural, and political activities in the United States, and a large number of good neighbors and citizens have already enlisted themselves as founding members of the Association.

We hope the leaders and good citizens of other countries will also become its members and guiding minds. Mankind is starving from the scarcity of creative love. The vast fields of the human universe urgently call for the cultivators of this beautiful and marvelous crop. *Vivos Voco!*

The Power of Benevolence

Consider that benevolence is invincible if it be genuine, and not merely an affected smile and playing a part. For what will the most violent man do to you, if you continue to be of a benevolent disposition towards him and, as opportunity offers, gently admonish him and calmly correct his errors at the very time he is trying to do you harm?

Say to him: "We are constituted by nature for something else: I shall certainly not be injured, but you are injuring yourself." And show him by gentle tact . . . that this is so. . . .

And do this neither with any double meaning, nor in a way of reproach, but affectionately and without rancor in your soul; and not as if you were lecturing him, or to show off before others, but quietly in his own ear.

—Marcus Aurelius,
Meditations, X, 18:9

NEWS from the Peace Front

655 FOR Clergy Back Bus Boycotters

Last month a total of 655 clergymen-members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation had put themselves on record in support of the now-famous nonviolent protest against Jim Crow on Montgomery, Alabama, buses. The number includes 341 who stated their willingness to supply the pulpits of Montgomery pastors in the event the latter were jailed. These figures are included in a special FOR pamphlet, *Freedom, the South, and Nonviolence*, published April 6.

(At this writing, further legal proceedings have been suspended pending the appeal of his conviction by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of the Montgomery Improvement Association.)

Young Britons Fast For Montgomery Negroes

On March 31, eight members of the Pacifist Youth Action Group of London, England, concluded 72 hours of fasting in support of the Negroes in Montgomery, Alabama, who are engaged in a nonviolent protest against racial segregation on city buses.

In a letter to Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of the protest movement, Ian Dixon, secretary of the group, said: "You in Alabama, led by the spirit of love and justice, are . . . walking out of an era of oppression toward a new Promised Land of brotherhood." Lauding the Montgomery Negroes for their adherence to nonviolent methods, the letter said: "We believe that you are giving the people of the world a lesson in hope."

Negro Clergy, FOR Hold Los Angeles Rally

On March 27, FOR leaders (see cut) joined with the Los Angeles Interdenomiantional Negro Ministers' Alliance to hold a massive protest rally at the Olympic Auditorium in support of the beleaguered leaders of the Montgomery bus boycott.

FOR LEADERS: l. to r. Seated: (2nd) Rev. Frank Crane; (5th) Muriel Lester. Standing: (3rd) Wilson Riles; (4th) Dr. Allan Hunter; (5th) Rev. Maurice A. Dawkins.

The following day, designated as a day of prayer "for oppressed people everywhere," several hundred churches in the Los Angeles area remained open. The observance of this Deliverance Day was endorsed by the Los Angeles City Council and various labor unions.

Quaker Goodwill Mission To Visit Montgomery

The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends announced early last month that a Quaker goodwill team would shortly visit Montgomery, Alabama, to express the Friends' sympathy with the nonviolent bus protest movement. The decision stemmed from a suggestion by the Yearly Meeting's peace committee that such feelings could be "more meaningfully expressed in person by individuals" than by a letter.

Editor Launches M. L. King Fund

The Asbury Park *Press* has started a fund drive to aid the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., convicted leader of the Montgomery bus boycott. In a telegram to Dr. King, Wayne D. McMurray, editor of the *Press*, said his newspaper was "outraged at the conviction of a fellow American for asserting a right our constitution guarantees to all." The *Press* itself started off with a contribution of $50, and called upon its readers to follow its example. At this writing, response to McMurray's appeal was reportedly "gratifying."

Catholic Educators Set Integration Goal

In a unanimously voted resolution passed at last month's annual convention, the National Catholic Educational Association called upon its members to provide "leadership toward the orderly integration of Negro and white children in the nation's schools." The organization, which convened April 3-6 in St. Louis, is the recognized spokesman for Roman Catholic education in the United States. Voted by 8500 teachers, administrators and college officials, the resolution asserted that school integration "will give evidence of the observance of the precepts of justice and Christian charity," and that "through careful and prudent planning this integration has been and can be successfully achieved."

Southern Churchmen Seek Interracial Amity

Amid the clamor and tension characterizing the present crisis in race relations in the South, many voices have been raised in support of justice and mercy. Proving that Northerners by no means have a monopoly on their opposition to Jim Crow, here are some of the white Southern groups who have spoken out:

• **Tennessee Presbyterians**—The Union Presbytery (Knoxville) of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., passed a resolution on March 15 opposing "all forms of racial segregation" and urging "complete and orderly integration of public schools as promptly as possible."

• **Texas Church Council**—At San Antonio, the Texas Council of Churches, representing eleven affiliated Protestant denominations, condemned racial discrimination at its annual meeting on March 14 and passed a resolution expressing "humiliation" over "lack of concern for integration" by some state officials. "We rejoice that there are many [Texas] communities which have gone on a completely integrated basis," the resolution said. "But we have been disturbed by certain recent trends indicating opposition to compliance with the Supreme Court ruling."

• **North Carolina Methodist Students**—At High Point, N. C., the North Carolina Methodist Student Movement called for the end of segregation in the Methodist Church and asked public officials to comply with the Supreme Court ruling. One resolution deplored the parent body's slackness in effecting "a Christian solution to the problems involved in implementing the decisions of the courts concerning segregation in the schools."

Meanwhile, in Chicago, the *Christian Advocate*, official Methodist weekly, published a poll which showed that 56.4% of U.S. Methodists favored removal of all racial barriers to church membership. In the South, 25.9% wanted an end to Jim Crow and 36.3% took an inbetween position. Only 37.8% backed completely segregated churches. Persons who voted in greatest numbers to end Jim Crow in the Methodist Church were: 1) Westerners (80%); 2) young people, ages 18-24 (67.3%); 3) college graduates (61%); and 4) regular churchgoers, who recorded 57%, as against only 46% of Methodists who seldom attend church services.

Schools Committee Aids Bias Victims

In mid-March a six-car "mercy caravan," loaded with clothing and canned goods, left New York for South Carolina. The caravan, organized by the National Committee for Rural Schools, was destined for Columbia, S. C., from where the clothing and food was distributed to Negro families in Ellery, Orangeburg and Clarendon Counties, who have been subjected to severe economic reprisals by white supremacists for resisting segregation.

N. Y. Protestants Score Northern Race Faults

Christians in the North should not think of racial problems as "peculiar to the South," according to a statement issued by the Christian Social Relations Department of the Protestant Council of the City of New York. Noting that recent events have "made all Americans aware of the racial tensions that have developed in our Southland," the statement stressed that "we are conscious of our own shortcomings in New York City."

The Council called for prayers as "experiences of repentance," and urged "concrete action" to realize Christian principles in race relations, "in order that 'what we speak with our lips we may believe in our hearts and practice daily in our lives.'"

Fyke Farmer Writes Ike, Will Pay No "War Tax"

Fyke Farmer, leading World Federalist and FOR member of Nashville, Tennessee, reaffirmed recently his refusal to pay two-thirds of his 1949 income tax. Basing his stand on the Nürnberg international law, which exempts citizens of all countries from "any participation in criminal war activities," Farmer asserted in a letter to President Eisenhower that "at the time of the assessment . . . only one-third of the federal revenue was being spent for lawful and constitutional functions of government."

Enclosing a check for one-third of the amount due, Farmer stipulated that this sum be used only for federal civic expenses. Pending payment of the two-thirds "war tax," the government is holding a lien on Farmer's home.

CCIA Asks Britain For Cyprus Constitution

The Commission of the Churches on International Affairs has asked the British government to draft a constitution for the strife-torn island of Cyprus. The CCIA, a joint agency of the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council, also requested that the British permit Archbishop Makarios, Greek Orthodox prelate, to return to Cyprus. Makarios, leader of a Cypriot movement for reunion with Greece, was deported in March to Seychelles.

The situation in Cyprus is a tense one and violence is rife. In recent months there have been many riots and acts of terrorism by the Greek majority, by the Turkish minority and by British military forces. The CCIA, in its statement, expressed the hope that with "restoration of order and reopening of negotiations, everything will be done by Cypriot leaders to avoid and discourage violence and terrorism." Explaining its role in the dispute, the CCIA said: "It is the direct responsibilty of the churches to work for the restoration of confidence and good faith as well as to bring to bear . . . the healing and reconciling influence of the Gospel."

Ousted N. Z. Pacifist Restored to Pulpit

Ormond Burton, who was dismissed by the New Zealand Methodist Conference for pacifist preaching in 1942, was reinstated recently as a full minister of the Methodist Church. A member of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Christian Pacifist Society of New Zealand, Burton underwent four periods in prison for his beliefs.

His long-sought readmittance had been opposed for over a decade by influential laymen, who would not admit that the Church had been wrong in ousting him, but in 1954 he was finally invited to apply for reinstatement. The vote which resulted in Burton's return to the ministry was 168 for, 59 against, with 3 abstentions.

Luftwaffe Blunder Sparked 1940 Blitz

One of the greatest horrors of pre-atomic war was touched off by a blunder in aerial navigation, it was revealed last month. According to research by the Institute for Current History in Munich, a squadron of German aircraft took off from Landsberg on May 10, 1940 to attack Dijon, France. Losing their bearings in the clouds, the bombers dropped their high explosives on Freiburg, a Bavarian university town of no military importance.

Thirty-five adults and twenty-two children were killed, and feeling ran high in Germany over this wanton, pointless slaughter. The resulting embarrassment to Luftwaffe Commander Hermann Goering caused the latter to hush up his subordinates' mistake and exploit the incident for propaganda purposes, with the consequent "revenge" attacks on Britain that began the Blitz. Retaliation and counter-retaliation over the following five years obliterated many cities and made the mass bombing of civilians an accepted form of modern warfare, causing the deaths of millions of defenseless people.

Niemoeller Rejoins EKID Foreign Office

Pastor Martin Niemoeller, leading German FOR member, has accepted an invitation to resume membership in the Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKID) and to take charge of its ecumenical work.

Last November, Niemoeller had resigned from the top Evangelical body following criticism of EKID's Foreign Office, which he headed. His new post was assigned to him as part of a long-planned reorganization of the Foreign Office. At the urging of friends, and "after overcoming substantial scruples," the pacifist leader agreed to the reshuffle, it was reported, in the hope that the future composition of the Foreign Office would assure good cooperation from EKID's member churches.

Ban H-Bomb, Say British Quakers

The Peace Committee of the Society of Friends in Great Britain has urged that "the time is right" for one of the great powers to assert "a new courageous moral leadership in the world" by ending its manufacturing and testing of hydrogen bombs.

In a "Call to Christian Action," the Quaker group said that "such an act of faith might well create new trust and respect that would enable further steps in disarmament to be taken." The call was issued, the Quaker body said, because discussions in the U.N. Disarmament Subcommittee had recently shown some progress but that final agreement "seems now to be held up for lack of just that courageous leadership for which we call."

ELLOWSHIP

Films for Peace

These 16mm. black & white sound films may be obtained from FOR at prices and rentals shown below.

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he Rev. A. J. Muste, Secrery Emeritus of the FOR, scribes the child-centered ogram that could rid the orld of war.

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BLESSED ARE THE PEACEMAKERS

Martin Niemoeller tells why he is a pacifist. A powerful document by an FOR member who won fame by his courageous defiance of tyranny under Hitler.

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BOOKS

Brazil's "Soft Answer"

Jungle Quest, by Edward Weyer, Jr. Harper. 1955. 198 pp. $3.50.

Jungle Quest is the account of a modern Stanley-and-Livingston venture, in which the American anthropologist Edward Weyer, Jr. went into the largest "unknown" area remaining in the world today, the jungles of central South America, in search of the Brazilian explorer Orlando Villas Boas.

After learning Portuguese, Weyer equipped himself for the search by obtaining the latest in recording and photographic equipment. For arms he took—guess what!—bow and arrow!

What—no gun?

No gun.

Brazil, you see, has reversed the usual "civilized" procedure—nowadays they prohibit the use of firearms by *whites!* The rule of the Indian Protective Service is: "Die if you must, but never shoot an Indian."

The man responsible for this "outrage" against white supremacy is General Cândido Rondon, who, at the turn of the century, began his campaign for the "soft answer," thereby throwing away any opportunity of becoming a Brazilian General Custer, blazing a bloody and spectacular trail across the movie screens. Instead he succeeded only in getting himself shelved in the Museum of Natural History—and in saving the Indians from exploitation. Rondon is the only living person whose bust is in the American Museum, and is the second person (after Admiral Peary) to be awarded the medal of the Explorers Club.

Over the years, numerous efforts were made by the Brazilian government to win the friendship of the Indians. Hard as it is to believe, members of the expeditions actually died without resorting to firearms which they had at hand. One of the men who had gone on one of these expeditions was Orlando Villas Boas. Boas had decided to remain and spend his life in the wildest part of South America. He had gone among more hostile Indians than any man living, to places where many white men had been massacred, including the famous English explorer, Fawcett, and had singlehandedly made peace with one savage tribe after another.

Locating Boas, Weyer discovered, would be a combination of luck and of keeping in the good graces of government personnel—some of the latter not exactly in sympathy with his plans.

Soon after getting into the interior he found himself in a Chavante village—which was not at all what he'd had in mind! He had assured his wife that he would fly over and beyond that notorious tribe.

"No one with a fragment of curi-

osity about his fellow man," he writes, "can enter a village of naked Stone Age Indians without an unforgetable thrill. That they may be hostile does not lessen the effect. Men, women, and children without any clothes on and with bows and arrows in their hands streamed out of their dome-shaped huts as we approached. Then they stopped and waited. I believe they were as uneasy as we were."

After an awkward moment or two he learned, by accident, that a pat on the shoulder is considered a demonstration of friendship by the Indians, and in the end they almost tore off his clothes for souvenirs.

Even in Brazil "progress" will have its innings. Some of the ambitious citizens of São Felix, thinking the land of the natives should be contributing to the Brazilian way of life—and their own pockets —ambushed and massacred a party of Chavantes returning from a peaceful parley with government representatives. This made it impossible for Weyer to have any further contacts with the Chavantes.

When he finally landed by plane at a point where he hoped to find Orlando Villas Boas he learned, to his dismay, that Senhor Orlando had passed just the day before on a trip down the Xingu River, halfway to the Amazon—with the only outboard motor in the region.

Weyer had made the acquaintance of the son of a Camayurá chieftain, Tah-koo-mah, who spoke Portuguese. Tah-koo-mah invited him to visit his village—a rigorous journey by canoe and on foot, through swamps and over shadeless stretches, loaded down with his equipment. One by one Weyer removed articles of soaked clothing until he was as naked as his companions. The bones of the only other white man who had ever come this far, he learned later, were in the bottom of the beautiful lake beside the village!

But being an invited guest, he found, made a difference. Everyone was friendly, and particularly interested in his recordings of the voices of their enemies, the dreaded Chavantes. He had come to observe the people, but found himself outnumbered seventy-to-one! Under their scrutiny, he began to feel like a sideshow freak.

There were compensations. Tah-koo-mah hung the guest's hammock between those of two of his sisters —a married one on one side, on the other Koo-yah-yoo, an unusually beautiful and graceful, and single, girl. After watching the culinary efforts of the visitor for a while, Koo-yah-yoo made him some manioc, which was a considerable improvement. Koo-yah-yoo spoke no Portuguese, but they got along.

Nights were long, and much of them filled with flute-playing, singing, dancing. In the huts, dimly lighted by fires, Indians talked and laughed in their hammocks. Now and then a hissing sound would be made by a mother, warming her baby by blowing on it through her teeth. Rarely in his life had he felt more at peace, says Weyer, than in the "strong beauty of this hut."

When some of the babies developed a fever he treated them with medicines he had brought. One baby had a temperature of 105.6°, and her eyes were glued shut with infection. They all recovered, and this fact naturally aroused gratitude. But Weyer, to his surprise, received a far warmer response when he remarked on how pretty the village was, and how much he liked it there. Tah-koo-mah could not conceal his pleasure. He was

like a college boy who had invited a roommate home for the holidays and was anxious to have the friend and his people like each other. When it was time to leave, Weyer was asked repeatedly by the villagers if he would come back.

Finally, after repeatedly postponing his return to the States, he established contact with Boas. What kind of personage would the man be?—a man who was one of the greatest explorers of all time, representative of the Brazilian government and virtual dictator over an area as large as most of New England.

Boas, it turned out, was a slight 115-pounder, clad in nothing but a disreputable pair of trousers and a battered canvas hat, his body covered with the black pin-pricks of thousands of mosquito bites.

The "secret" of Boas' remarkable influence over the Indians, he explained, is a spontaneous and unlimited love. A small boy sits on a knee, a parrot perches on a shoulder, a dog lies with his chin across a bare foot, a bird as big as a turkey rubs against a leg as "Senhor Orlando" outlines his plans for making friends with new tribes. His black eyes burn with a mystic fire as he discusses his dream of making this an "Indian Preserve," on the order of the animal preserves in various parts of the world.

Will he succeed? There are warring tribes to be reconciled, there are powerful groups who think the important interests are those of the whites, there is the matter of the Chavante massacre, which set back by years the efforts of the government—there are a thousand problems. But if anyone can ever translate the dream into reality it is this little man with a big idea.

—Misti Smith

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Rights, Not Races

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I have been heartened greatly by the FOR's efforts in the Southern Crisis, especially the Ministers' Statement on Montgomery. This shows that it is a right-wrong, not a Negro-white issue.

—ROY HOLLISTER
New York City

"Refreshing Sarcasm"

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I have just written William T. Scott ["Too Much Sarcasm?", *Letters*, January issue] the following: "Can you point out specific instances of sarcasm in FELLOWSHIP? What I fear is that you and some others see sarcasm where many of us find humor. The absurdity of much that the armed forces and C.D. do can only be described in irony and humor. You may be one who wants the "scholarly" dry approach. This would limit FELLOWSHIP's readers to the vanishing point. Old peace workers have to laugh once in a while to keep going. Years of defeat are not funny. How long have you been with us and what are you doing now for the movement?"

—YONE U. STAFFORD
West Springfield, Mass.

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I had been wanting to comment on [William T. Scott's letter] which complained on your use of sarcasm in the editorials in FELLOWSHIP. I disagree completely. I find the use of sarcasm and humor both stimulating and refreshing. Keep us all from feeling like Pollyannas.

—MRS. J. LEE BURK
Troy, Ohio

A Rural Welcome

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In the February issue of FELLOWSHIP the hopeful side of housing was presented. May I say that the same problems of interracial housing can and do arise in rural areas. I have a property in southern Vermont and am wishful that those who enjoy the quiet beauty of that area know that I am willing and eager to make, from time to time, parts of it available to them for summer or all-year-round houses. Only keep in mind that we must not have too many houses so that our reason for choosing Vermont, which is privacy, and open surroundings with our own paths to the brook may not be left out.

—BERTA HAMILTON
Keuka Park, N. Y.

A Long Wait

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I was very much interested in the article "Dateline: Orangeburg, S. C." in the February issue of FELLOWSHIP. With the general tone of the article I found myself in accord, but it contained one jarring sentence: "Before [the problem of the South] can finally be resolved, the white South will

have to face up to its deep sense of guilt, and its need to repent of the wrongs it has inflicted on millions of its fellows."

I believe that we must work diligently toward a relationship of harmony and real equality between whites and Negroes, both northern and southern, yet it seems to me that approaching the problem with the attitude that the white South must repent is not conducive to establishing communication with southern whites. Improvement in the relations between the races is the important thing, not repentance for wrongs already committed; and the article stressed the need for communication in effecting this improvement. But if the Negro must wait for the white South to repent, he has a long wait still ahead, longer even than it would take the white southerners, with the best possible communication, to adjust to the new social order.

—Cavin P. Leeman
Boston, Mass.

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